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PEACE NEWS

No. 475 July 20, 1945 2d.

THE PHONEY ELECTION

Words & needs

by CYRIL HUGHES

MMR. BERNARD SHAW said he really could not pretend to take any interest in the General Election. That shrewd old mind is usually interested in most things worthy of any interest. His attitude typifies a somewhat widespread feeling that the spate of words and mud-slinging to which we have been treated represents merely the usual politicians' dragon-fly talk—an ungraceful skimming over the surface of the deep waters of political and economic reality.

As an act of poetic justice, the Labour Party has suffered from the existence of that Churchill myth which it has itself done so much to create. Only the ILP has offered a programme at all relevant to the needs of the times, and it, unfortunately, has only put up a handful of candidates.

Economic issues

It is essential that we consider the new political set-up in the light of some of the real issues at stake.

I am not an economic expert, thank heaven. An economic expert is a gentleman paid a large salary to prove that an essentially simple problem is really very difficult. So I claim the right, as one whose vote may have made the difference between slavery and freedom, to criticise the position adopted by all the major parties on certain economic issues. For instance, unemployment.

In a profound sense, the problem of unemployment is the problem of war. Solve that, and you go a long way towards solving everything. The Tories stand by the Government White Paper which, as Peace News has already shown, is but a fairly accurate copy of the 1918 proposals. Let us adopt all the methods that have already been tried and failed—that is practical politics.

Trade and employment

But all the big parties seem agreed on certain principles. Thus, to solve unemployment, we must have a large export trade. The nation, they all agree, is a milch-cow which suffers acute discomfort and physical ill if it is not constantly and abundantly milked. For a nation to consume what it produces is economic suicide. But as the alternative is international murder, why not try it?

For we are not told very clearly how this export boom is to be brought about when productivity has increased by 40 per cent. and markets have contracted by 51 per cent. as a result of the war. Nor is it generally made known that only about 20 per cent. of Britain's pre-war business was represented by the import-export trade.

Similarly with production. We must produce, we are told, in order to export and provide employment. Again, that was the cry in 1918. And we produced so many goods that we had to refuse reparations in kind. By 1929 we had littered the world with goods, and people were starving because there was too much to eat, and half-naked because there were too many clothes.

Taking the figure for factory production, employment, and productivity, in the years 1919-23 as

REBUILDING EUROPE

No foundation left?

THE Potsdam Conference of the Big Three will be in two fundamental respects different from its predecessors at Moscow, Teheran and Yalta. First, it will have a vast mass of concrete, and dangerous, issues to decide. No diplomatic vagueness will do. And second, it will have Truman instead of Roosevelt, and a much less secure Churchill.

Truman, with his new head of the State Department, Byrnes, both experienced in American domestic politics, inexpert in foreign affairs, and therefore thoroughly representative of USA as a whole, will be as strange a phenomenon to Stalin, as Stalin will be to him.

And I imagine Churchill, into whose previous calculations it can hardly have entered that he might not be Prime Minister in August, 1945, will be more distinctly receptive to second thoughts than heretofore. The situation needs not only second thoughts, but third and fourth. It is more serious than any group of statesmen have ever been confronted with.

Prospect of famine

MMR. LEHMAN'S warning about the food-situation in Europe during the coming winter makes clear (as did the Washington conference) that it is not merely defective transport which will forbid the raising of Europe above the present level of slow starvation, but a positive world-shortage of every kind of food.

Anyhow, the prospect for Europe this winter is famine; and, as the Manchester *Guardian* (July 11) points out, people need food in order to produce food. The danger is that European food-production will go from bad to worse. The recent (and we hope quite temporary) agreement by which food for the British sector of Berlin is to be supplied from the British zone is a striking example of the administrative chaos of joint occupation.

Black market menace

TO the positive food shortage, and the absence of constructive agreement at the highest political level, we must add the almost insuperable difficulties of eliminating the vast black market which probably swallows up half the food production of Europe and will swallow up a large proportion of the four million tons which are to be sent to Europe in the next six months.

Strong decrees and fierce penalties against the black market, when it has reached these dimensions, are vain. The essential measures against it are to have in the country (1) a sufficient supply of food for the people's needs; (2) a capable and incorruptible administration; (3) the habit of obeying the law. Even when all these conditions are satisfied, as they are in England now, the black market is a serious menace to public morality. Not one of them is present

PURPOSE

SINCE the ideal I set before myself in establishing the Peace News Fund may well by now have become obscured, it is as well that, on returning to my post, I should set it out briefly again.

The purpose of the fund is to enable Peace News to develop into an instrument of education in the highest sense I can conceive: to spread a deeper awareness of the profound moral and spiritual issues which underlie the confusion and destruction of this age, and to do this in the belief that there is no shortcut to the rebuilding of civilization, or even to the preservation of that respect for the human personality as a whole which was partially achieved by the civilization that is now disintegrating.

Above all, Peace News as conceived by me was to be essentially non-dogmatic: in the words of Keats—"to be a thoroughfare for all thoughts, not a select party"; and in this spirit to become the organ of unity between men and women who hold that the pursuit of peace and the pursuit of truth are interdependent.

Contributions since June 6: £8 3s. 1d. Total to date: £5,977 2s. 1d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ON the one side is the positive creed that the economic life of man really determines all his values. Set the goal as maximum productivity, let human beings be conditioned so as to achieve it, and then (at some future millennial date) there will be the maximum possible of human happiness. Meanwhile in pursuit of the maximum output of and from machines, man himself is to be regarded as a machine.

This philosophy, which is consciously accepted and applied in Soviet Russia, is not yet consciously accepted and applied in the West. But it has made enormous inroads into the Western consciousness. Some part of the Western soul is terrified by the idea: but it has nothing to put against it, except a secularised individualism.

The tension in the world today can be described as that between a half-hearted and a whole-hearted materialism: economically, between maximum productivity by totalitarian socialism and maximum productivity by private enterprise. Nobody contests the assumption that maximum productivity is the final purpose of human society. But if maximum productivity cannot be achieved by private enterprise—and the necessity of war-socialism in Britain and USA is pretty plain proof that it cannot—what does the robin do then, poor thing?

Follow-my-leader

THIS half-heartedness appears in the leading article of the *New Statesman* (July 14). It first shows some awareness of the moral predicament by urging that, if there is not agreement among the Big Three on the reconstruction of Europe, the new European proletariat will turn to Russia alone. That is to say, some creative compromise between Russia and the West must be found. But when it comes to making a positive suggestion, in the political sphere, this is what we are told.

"All Europe wants to know what is Britain's attitude to the democratic movements in liberated and enemy countries. In the countries under their control the Russians are encouraging the revival of three political parties—a Conservative religious party with its main basis among the peasants and middle classes, and Socialist and Communist parties drawing their support mainly from industrial workers and intellectuals. Other parties of the Right have been suppressed as collaborationist. Mr. Attlee will speak for the whole Labour movement if he makes it clear that the Labour party would adopt a parallel policy in the British zone."

Nothing could be plainer. Britain is to follow the Russian policy, and adopt the Russian heresy—of treating democratic and anti-Fascist as synonymous.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

That "conquering hero" stuff

Extract from a letter home from Lieut. James Neville Williamson, REME, aged 25, quoted in the *Yorkshire Evening Press*, July 6. He was writing from Hanover.

I HAD the rotten job of taking a house for officers' mess today. I had to turn out four or five families from a villa at two hours' notice.

They are not allowed to take anything but their personal belongings, clothes, etc. It made us pretty sick, believe me, to see old women crying. If anyone tells you we are being soft, just tell them to go to hell. We are being tough—very tough.

These people are to blame for this and when I am feeling "soft" I think of Belsen, but they have suffered, mother, suffering such as we can hardly imagine and I for one can't change my nature sufficiently to gloat over their misfortunes.

It kind of knocks all the "conquering hero" stuff out of you to see a woman with a child in her arms standing in the rain with a pram full of clothes and no prospect of cover for the night—or any other night.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

POTSDAM

IT is as true today as it was in 1919 or 1939 that Germany is the key-country of Europe. In 1919 what was done to Germany decided the political fate of Europe; in 1939 what Germany did decided it; in 1945 what is done to Germany will decide it again. The difference between 1919 and 1945 is that in 1919 we allowed Germany to carry the responsibility for her own government, and brought whatever pressure we thought fit to bear upon the German Government, whereas in 1945 we—Russia this time included—have taken the responsibility of governing Germany.

It is a prodigious responsibility to take. And it grows increasingly more evident that it is a responsibility for which the conquering Powers have failed to prepare themselves. If they had, it would have been inconceivable that high-ranking officers of the British-American "military government" should say, as they did, that they were not here to feed Germany, or to set German industry in motion. For that was precisely the responsibility (indeed, the minimum responsibility) they had undertaken.

But mere words and slogans had taken the place of thinking in terms of actual reality. "Military Government" belongs to the same order of thought as "unconditional surrender" and "non-fraternization": an order of thought based on the emotional make-believe of hate-propaganda, whereby the Germans are regarded as a sub-human species.

If that had been the assumption, it would be better to be frank and consistent about it. It involves the necessity of governing the Germans as a subject race. You have a choice of methods. You might recruit your administrators as the old Indian Civil Service was recruited from your own élite, recruit your native German police under British officers, and, as in India, after a period of purely British administration at all the higher levels, gradually bring in the natives into the administration, and eventually offer them self-government. Or you might adopt the method finally adopted with regard to Ireland, of bodily incorporating it into the United Kingdom, giving it a Viceroy and a Chief Secretary, and allowing it to send its quota of MPs to the British Parliament. Or you could try the French method, which is a variation of the last. Or there is the new Russian method of sub-custaneous incorporation: of which we have not yet mastered the technique.

At any rate, these suggestions raise the vital issue. Is it intended to annex Germany, or not? Or, rather, since several annexing Powers are in question, is it intended to partition Germany, or not? We do not know. We do not believe the Potsdam partners really know. But what they ought to know is that, if they do not intend to partition Germany, then they must allow and encourage Germany to become an independent, self-governing nation again.

Is Potsdam prepared to do this? Has any member of that august and secret conclave the imagination to understand that in the resurrection of stricken Germany is the potentiality of European reconciliation, of European unity? Do any of them desire this? Or do they not—all of them—from diverse motives rather fear it?

Nevertheless, if world-civilization is to be saved from continuous destruction, an act of faith has to be made. San Francisco has been the act of fear. Potsdam might be the act of faith. For unless the Big Three can unite about Germany they will unite about nothing. A Germany, divided and frustrated, will assuredly divide and frustrate them. Germany, united and liberated—and disarmed—might be the seed ground of true world-peace.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Where there's a will . . .

THERE is one fact about England at the present time so conspicuous that everyone tries to ignore it, like an ill-fitting wig or a glass eye.

It is this: that in England at the present time there exists neither a conviction of what constitutes the Good Life nor a will to achieve it. Minorities have their convictions; majorities may have their sentiments—as the majority of Englishmen had a sentiment for peace after the last war. There remains a strictly limited, almost measurable, amount of genuine moral determination.

We see this reflected in the course of new movements. As with the Popular Front, as with the Distributist League, Federal Union, Common Wealth, the PPU—for a year or two they gather momentum, membership, a naïvely repeated hope of continued progress at the same speed: and then, quite abruptly, they come to a stop. The movement has ceased to move. Why? Because it has used up the available reserve of moral determination.

Diluting the brew

If a brewer were to find (which Heaven forbid) that he had only one gallon of beer left to fill a hundred barrels, he would know that there were two solutions to the problem. One would be to dilute the gallon with water; the other to grow more barley and hops. Why is it that reformers, like brewers, always adopt the first alternative?

The new movements, if and when they swell beyond the limits reached in their first impetus, do so by a process of moral dilution. The present Labour Party probably represents the extreme of insipidity and perfect innocuousness attainable by this means.

It seldom seriously occurs to reformers that if they are ever to stimulate society again, a new season's brewing may be called for. Yet I think it could be shown that the great reforms of the past have been preceded or accompanied by great religious revivals. It would be hard to over-estimate the part played in the nineteenth century by the spirit of John Wesley. It is quite obvious now that the moral conviction and will necessary to achieve further progress cannot be taken for granted; they will have to be called into being deliberately.

Now those who see the necessity for a moral revival

commonly look to one of two institutions to promote it. The first is a Church, the second a Party. Both are hopeless, for equal and opposite reasons.

The Church fails because, though it knows what goodness is (a rare thing today), it seeks to realise it only in the private behaviour of individuals. The organisation of the everyday, bread-winning occupations of men is left to the standards of expediency. Sometimes, it is true, a Church supports full-time works of social welfare, and a real spirit of service may be embodied and promoted in the organisation of such schemes; but the organisation of bread-giving is not intended to offer any pattern for that of bread-winning occupations. More often goodness remains for the Church what a man does with his solitude; at best it is a garnish on the daily round—the smile on the ticket-collector's face, the chastity of the ATS.

The Party, on the contrary, does realise that the way in which bread-winning occupations are conducted is iniquitous, and that the economies of society need re-shaping. But because large-scale reforms can be accomplished only by legislation, it confines its immediate demands on its membership to the activities necessary for acquiring power. By the time it is in a position to influence the laws, it has forgotten what the Good Life is. The Church indeed knew its own mind, even if it was not always worth knowing; the Party ends without a mind to know. It may remember, dimly, that something had to be altered; it is as likely to alter it for the worse as for the better.

Combine the two

The prime duty of a movement that seeks to moralise the economic life of society is, it seems, to combine in a new way the requirements of these two institutions, both of which had life in their day. This can be done in one way: by demanding an immediate reform in the lives of its members, and demanding that this be extended to the conduct of their everyday, bread-winning occupations.

When moral conviction is fortified and purged by an experience of the essentials of the Good Life, there will be a real will to see this life "in widest commonality spread." And where there's a will there's a way—and there only.

What does this demand involve?—Be sure and read the second instalment of this thrilling serial in next week's Peace News!

F. A. Lea

NON-VIOLENCE versus TYRANNY
THE DEBATE CONTINUES

Illusionism?

WHAT are the implications for pacifism and pacifists if John Middleton Murry's assessment of the power of non-violence is correct?

Pacifism is fundamentally a philosophy or way of life renouncing violence as a means of overcoming evil. It therefore renounces war. But in order to be a politically practical philosophy it has to show another positive way of defeating the evildoer and non-violent resistance has become the accepted pacifist alternative to war.

It will not work when opposed by modern tyranny says Murry and so we are left without any answer to the oft-repeated questions, "What do we do if the Big Bad Wolf comes here and attacks us?"

I know that we have all the answers to the questions on how to prevent another war but, if our answers go unheeded, as they did prior to 1939, and if tyranny does gain the ascendent again, it is quite useless to say, "We told you this situation would arise if you failed to take our advice." We just cannot contract out like that. What, then, is left for us to do or say?

If Murry is right hasn't pacifism already become "an illusionism"? In which case hadn't we better start seeking another philosophy?

STANLEY W. RANDOLPH.
56, The Main Way,
Chorley Wood, Herts.

The wrong approach

I THINK John Middleton Murry, in his article on "Non-violence versus tyranny," is working on a wrong assumption, and consequently practically the whole of his arguments are not relevant.

Pacifism does not claim to have a solution for all the problems that arise in the midst of a world war. Many of us think war is like a great bonfire, which many nations bring their contribution to make, until finally someone sets it on fire. Pacifism should be concerned about stopping the world from making these bonfires. Dick Sheppard started by saying "no" and added: "The politician must find out the ways and means."

LETTERS

I have been very sorry to see our great thinker, John Middleton Murry, wasting (as I think) so much of his time of late trying to patch up and comment upon a bad harvest, when we ought to be preparing the ground, and the seed, for something better.

Political and economic injustices are the greatest causes of war, and too many of us (I fear) approach economic and political questions from the angle of what we are going to lose, or get out of them; consequently, practical Christianity is still waiting to be born.

Whilst I admit our problem is made very much bigger by six years of war, I also argue that God has never been without his witnesses, and that as each war has become more brutal, so common sense is discovering its horror and futility. Let Peace News also open its pages more towards giving its readers a spiritual lead in economic and political matters, and not use so much space in criticising Russia or any other imperfect State. If there is "illusionism" let it not be at the "Head" of the movement.

G. C. MADDEVER.

Liskeard.

Gleams of hope

JUDGING by comments made to me personally, and by correspondence in Peace News, a good many readers have been surprised and troubled by John Middleton Murry's article "Non-Violence and Tyranny."

My own impulse on reading the article was to reply immediately, quoting the non-violent resistance to tyranny of the early Christians under the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian; of the early Quakers in 17th-century England; or of teachers and Pastors in Norway under Nazi occupation during the past few years.

Having let the opportunity pass, I will not now enlarge upon that theme. Mr. Murry seemed in his article to be asking the question, "Has our pacifist faith after all been vain?" He says: "Under neither the Nazi nor the Soviet system of applied brutality does non-violence stand a dog's chance." He does not even leave us the hope that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," for he says "the seed rots in the mass of mute, inglorious, intolerable suffering." The vulgar comment upon that is, so what? As for answer, no clue seems to be given. Was Mr. Murry himself in doubt? I could not believe it. Why then, that searching question?

My assumption was that he deliberately left it unanswered. He wanted to make us all think, and think hard; to find our own way out of the vacuum in which he left us. He wanted to submit our faith to drastic testing. To some of us it was a good and necessary challenge. It brought home to us the grimmest realities of situations which our faith, if we persist in it, may yet call upon us to face. A desperate challenge, which only the strong could meet unanswered.

Perhaps he is right in applying such "survival of the fittest" tactics. To the robust at least they are stimulating. But I feel a little anxious about those whose faith may still be a tender plant; especially if they should mistakenly imagine that he had left not only them but himself in the dark. Might not such need more gentle nurturing?

If so, may I hasten to bring them some support from Mr. Murry himself, which they may have missed. His article concludes: "Unless pacifism thinks its way bravely through the dark jungle of modern reality it is in great danger of becoming an illusionism." That is a gleam of hope. A PN editorial (July 6) on "The Russian Reality" further says that for us "the good end cannot justify the evil means." That vindicates our pledge. Whatever we may have to face and at whatever cost, we have this assurance that the method of war is wrong and for us is ruled out. This is another and brighter gleam in the darkness. Now please lead us further towards the light.

Meanwhile, may I recommend a pamphlet which just at this juncture has given me strong inspiration and encouragement? I refer to "A Confession of Faith in Wartime" by Stephen Hobhouse, published at 6d. by the Friends' Peace Committee.

CORDIER CATCHPOOL,
49 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

Unfinished reasoning

AT the last AGM, Jack Cowling explained away some of John Middleton Murry's more controversial statements in Peace News by telling us that these were deliberately "pitched high" so as to provoke thought and, furthermore, to convince readers that pacifism had an organ which was no mere weekly blabbing of a "party line."

Are we to take it that Mr. Murry's latest article is thus "pitched high"? If so, then the resultant and inevitable discussion which follows becomes mere tea-party polemics.

If not, the article is one of tremendous importance and makes deductions from premises which ought not to be rounded off with mere injunction to pacifism to "think bravely through the dark jungle of modern reality," else it become mere illusionism. Ought not, I submit, because if Mr. Murry is still a pacifist, and even now I think this tenable, he should indicate in which brave new way pacifists are to remain pacifists if non-violence is no longer effective.

Exigencies of space notwithstanding, Commentary, advertisements, and even appeals for funds excluded if necessary, Mr. Murry, because his considered judgments have been consistently penetrating, should have allowed himself or been allowed more than that final, cosy paragraph.

DOUGLAS C. MAITLAND.

33 Meldon Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne 6.

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I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Pacifists and the younger generation

A QUESTIONNAIRE was recently sent on behalf of the PPU Youth Committee to 400 pacifist teachers and club-leaders. Fifty replies have been received, from which it is plain that the same two problems confront most of us. Teachers are concerned about discipline; club-leaders about the attitude to religion and morality adopted by the members of their clubs.

To provide opportunity for consideration of the first subject a conference will be held from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Aug. 25 at Friends House, Euston Road, mainly for teachers but open to anyone who is interested (not necessarily pacifist), at which W. B. Curry, of Dartington Hall, will speak on "Discipline and freedom in education"; a discussion will follow. Hospitality will be arranged if desired. It is hoped that the second subject may be considered at a conference for club-leaders to be held next winter.

★

WHAT have we to say as pacifists to the young people in whose interests such conferences are arranged? My own experience in schools and youth clubs has convinced me that among a section at any rate of the younger generation there is a tremendous interest in what we have to say, largely because of the feeling that present policies will not lead to peace.

To help meet this need a new youth symposium, "It's your world now," is being published, to include articles by Vera Brittain, Alex Wood, Alan Balding and others. Two short pamphlets on the pacifist faith and policies are also in course of preparation. I shall be glad as well to arrange for suitable speakers to visit groups of young people in any part of the country.

Our concern is not only to bring the younger generation to say "no" to war, but also to share with them our belief as to the kind of personal life and national policies that will promote peace. We shall be glad of your advice and co-operation.

P. H. F.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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When corresponding with P.N. about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

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WANTED TO RENT house, 5 rooms, nr. London or big town. Garden not essential. Pacifist would appreciate this privilege. Box 48.

DETACHED COTTAGE remote Wales £200 freehold. Large garden. Good road, main water available. Immediate possession. Some redecorations, etc. necessary. Photo available. Box 50.

COPLES REQUIRE unfurnished accommodation nr. Barnet from September. Box 51.

C.O. REQUIRES DIGS, South Birmingham, Coventry Rd. area preferred. Box 53.

PACIFIST, wife and child, seek unfurnished accommodation. London or 20 miles radius. References. Woodfield, Eton, Broad Lane, Bracknell, Berks.

ELDERLY LADY, cheerful and active, seeks accommodation with Christian people where congenial help welcomed; reasonable terms. Address: Lane, 3 Queens Square, Lancaster.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

CAN ANYONE OFFER holiday accommodation for one week to pacifist, wife and baby aged two—nr. sea preferred. First holiday away for years. Terms to: Williamson, 17a, Dunton Rd., Romford, Essex. N.W.1.

BIG SEA-SIDE CROWDS HEAR THE PACIFIST CASE

LARGE AUDIENCES AT OPEN-AIR MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY PACIFIST SPEAKERS WERE REPORTED FROM SEA-SIDE TOWNS IN DEVON LAST WEEK.

At Paignton, on July 8, Stuart Morris spoke on "The Problems of Peace" for two-and-a-half hours to a crowd that at times exceeded 500. After showing that the war had failed to achieve any of its professed aims he stressed the extreme difficulties that would be encountered in trying to relieve Europe if the Far Eastern war was pursued to the bitter end of unconditional surrender.

Referring to a reported Japanese offer of generous terms to end hostilities, he suggested that it was the duty of all to see that these terms were investigated, thus possibly preventing the wanton slaughtering of hundreds of thousands of British and American lives.

Stuart Morris reminded the crowd that there were two things they could all do to try and ensure that World War Three did not break out:

1. Urge that an investigation be carried out by the world's leading scientists, economic experts, and statesmen to ascertain the root causes of war and to what extent these could be removed by international agreement and disinterested co-operation;

2. Recognise that the task of peace-making called for the same degree of enthusiasm, devotion and even sacrifice as war.

Peace-making had to be practised in our personal relationships and the smaller spheres of activity before its adoption by the States of the world was likely or even feasible.

During the questions that followed there were few subjects linked with the subject of peace-making on which the crowd did not seek enlightenment.

The chairman of the meeting was

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 134

The true patriot is never content with things as they are. He is not blind to his country's defects and wrong-doing, but seeks to replace them by right. In Mazzini's words, "The honour of a country depends much more on removing its faults than on boasting of its qualities." The true patriot will do this, moreover, when public opinion is dead against him. He is not forgetful of what his country has given to the world, but desires it to give increasingly of its best. For humanity is greater than any particular part of it, and every nation has something to contribute to the progress of mankind. . . . The best characteristics of all nations are needed in building up the Kingdom of God.

—Naomi Mary Gillman.

40,000 SECOND-HAND books on religion, psychology, philosophy, sociology, fiction, biography. Also church vestments. Lists 2d. Books of all kinds bought. Send list. Kingdom Books, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

"GOD and The War"—The Bible Speaks. For free booklet send to C.B.S., John Hough's Mission, New Buildings, Coventry.

BOOKS WANTED—Paraguayan Bruderhof Communities seek help to extend their small English library, particularly religious, philosophical, historical, social, scientific, technical, educational subjects. Paraguayan Brotherhood over 200 adults desirous of maintaining contact with world thought and seeking. All books and literature to Society of Brothers, Wheathill Bruderhof, Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

FOR SALE & WANTED SHALLOTS and other vegetables for sale, special rates for pacifists. Davies, Uplands, Milton Abbas, Blandford.

C.O. WANTS watches, clocks, any condition. State price, cash by return. Vinall, "Chalet," Bishopton, Devon.

C.O. (NOT MILLIONAIRE) urgently requires reliable Austin 7 saloon or similar car at reasonable price. Fairy godmothers write 82 Sheringham Ave., N.14. Phone, LABurnum 2889.

ANYONE prepared lend or sell standard typewriter to Peace News Office? Urgent.

LAND & COMMUNITY

WORKING BUSINESS PARTNER wanted to contribute money, sweat and companionship, to a four-acre fruit garden and nurseries. Inquiries, "Little Acre Nurseries," L. Basildon, Reading.

FARMER with remote West Country smallholding (cottage, sheds, 5 acres) shortly to let 10s. weekly; would accept as tenant responsible purchaser of cow, ponies, sheep, poultry, cottage furniture, tools, harness, cart etc., now there for £175. Deposit now secures. Box 49.

WILL SOMEONE in L. Dist., Devon, Cornwall, or Wilts, sell plot of woodland of at least an acre for erection of youth hostel. Box 52.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE

CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., P.N., 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

PERSONAL

ASSISTANT to National Organiser, Peace Pledge Union. Experience organising, pacifist movement. Able to initiate work. Shorthand typing. Details from General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

CHERRY GREETINGS to all friends from Eleanor and Leonard Bird. New address: c/o Wykes, 294 Hainton Ave., Grimsby.

WORKING HOLIDAYS—Wheat-hill Bruderhof Communities finding difficulty in doing urgent farm, garden, drainage, building, and domestic work. Very glad of voluntary help from men and women. Would you forward the cause of peace and brotherhood, working with us this summer and autumn?—Society of Brothers, Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

ASSISTANT MASTER WANTED—resident or non-resident—in boys' private school, Wiltshire, to take either French or Science up to School Certificate, and general form subjects. Apply Box 20.

WANTED: a capable married couple to act as caretaker and cook in Country Business House in Midlands. Good salary, furnished or unfurnished accommodation, all found.

Suitable position for middle-aged couple requiring peaceful surroundings, and comfortable home. Write giving full particulars to Box 41.

CITY GROUP. Howard Whitten on "What can we do with 'Frisco?" Fri., July 27, at 1.15 in the vestry of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, E.C.2.

EXPERIENCED LADIES' HAIRDRESSER wanted (female) for small country town. Barbara Weight, Roman Way, Glastonbury.

ASSISTANT to National Organiser, Peace Pledge Union. Experience organising, pacifist movement. Able to initiate work. Shorthand typing. Details from General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MARRIED COUPLE WANTED. Wife to undertake domestic duties. Husband gardening and odd jobs. Comfortable fully furnished accommodation with full board and periodic holidays. Good refs. essential. Madge Evans, Holton Rd., Barry.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED PROFESSIONAL Secretarial Service. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. P.A.L. 7386.

C.O. PROSPECTIVE TEACHER, wants land work, school preferred, in/near London, mid-September. Box 54.

C.O. with child of 3½ wants work with community, or food production work at school, where child could be cared for. Previous experience with Agricultural Committee. Details from Employment Section, C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

MISCELLANEOUS INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

REG. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P. Osteopath and Naturopath. Nature-cure treatment of disease.

REGINALD BAILEY, N.C.P. Psychiatrist and Specialist in Eye Treatment (Bates Method), 134 Hopper Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

WINDOW CLEANER'S ROUND. Barking, taking £10, for sale. £25 or nearest offer. Box 55.

SIGNWRITER, C.O., young, requires working partnership with established firm. Small capital or would consider foreman's position. South Coast or Southern Counties preferred. Box 56.

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders' books, prepares Profit and Loss Accounts, Balance Sheets and Income Tax Returns. Company formations arranged. Audits and Costing undertaken. Box 996.

Laurence Housman's 80th birthday

The PPU is arranging a gathering in honour of Laurence Housman to be held at 7 p.m. on Aug. 10, in the small meeting house, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Dr. Alex Wood will preside. Laurence Housman will read two of his plays. John Middleton Murry, H. Runham Brown and others will take part.

Accommodation is limited: admission by ticket only (1s. each). Application for tickets should be sent to Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. (See p. 4.)

Mass selling of P.N. in Trafalgar Square

A mass sale of Peace News is being planned in connection with the PPU demonstration in Trafalgar Square on the afternoon of Saturday, July 28.

Many volunteers are needed. Names should be sent now to Harry Mister at the Peace News office.

Postcards containing on one side an illustrated "poster" in miniature, with the message "A Whole Peace needs All its Parts," are available from the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford St., York, price 1d. per dozen, 7s. per 100.

MANY DUTCH CHILDREN STILL NEED HOSPITALITY

OVER 40,000 offers of hospitality are still required for Dutch children who are coming to this country to recover from the effects of Nazi occupation.

About 50,000 children are coming and 9,000 offers of hospitality have already been received. The children, whose ages range from 8 to 14, spend some weeks in a reception camp before they go to private homes. Hospitality is required for two months and board and lodging for that period is the only expense involved.

Local reception committees are being set up by local authorities and about 140 have already been formed. Offers of hospitality should be made to these local committees. In areas where committees have not been formed useful work could be done by suggesting to the local authority that a committee should be set up.

Groups of not less than twenty will go to a district and will be accompanied by a Dutch leader.

The object of the scheme, which has been

sponsored by the Dutch Government and the Reception Committee for Young People from Occupied Countries, in co-operation with the Ministry of Health, is not only to give the children an opportunity to recuperate but to promote friendship between the British and the Dutch people.

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES Those who are not in a position to give a holiday to Dutch children might consider inviting into their homes some of the many folk in this country who for one reason or another must feel rather lonely and isolated.

Coloured American soldiers stationed over here, for instance, would no doubt greatly appreciate an invitation to spend an afternoon or evening in an English home. Few of them have had an opportunity of getting acquainted with an English family. Probably in this case the best procedure is to send an invitation to the hostel where the men are involved.

Other examples are repatriated Colonial prisoners of war and men from Eire engaged on bomb-damage work. People who are in a position to invite these men to their homes and give them some of the amenities of home life if only for a few hours would find that appreciation of their action would be out of all proportion to the effort involved.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Ealing (covering W.5, W.7, W.13, Southall and Brentford): now George E. Hurdle, 18 St. Stephen's Rd., Ealing, W.13 (PER. 7520).

Kingston-on-Thames: now Arthur Everett, 14 Waverley Ave., Surbiton.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

A practical test

THE characteristic of the British conception of democracy is that it rejects internal violence. Therefore it abhors Fascism: therefore, equally, it abhors Communism. If the present constellation of world-power is such that it must not be said aloud that democracy in the British sense is as opposed to the violence of Communism as it is to the violence of Fascism, then we must abandon the idea of giving a lead to Europe. We are become a nation too timid to utter our convictions: which means that we have ceased to hold them.

Not that it is an easy matter to find a basis of real agreement between Russia and the democracies for the treatment of Germany; but if unity is to be had only by our sheeplike following the Russian line in a sphere in which we can justly claim pre-eminence, namely political democracy, then it would be better to give up the pretence of unity. There is a simple principle which the British and Americans ought to apply in trying to foster political life in Germany—that there shall be freedom of organisation and expression for all parties except those which advocate internal violence. Only the tolerant shall be tolerated.

If that principle causes offence to Russia, we must put up with it, in the certain knowledge that not to compromise on a vital principle is the quickest way to a general understanding with Russia.

To thine own self be true;
And it shall follow, as the night
the day,
Thou canst not then be false to
to any man.

Wrecked on a paradox

THE responsibility for the breakdown of the Simla Conference has been publicly shouldered by Lord Wavell. Most people will feel it was a generous gesture. The breakdown was plainly due to the Moslem-Hindu cleavage. It is true that past British policy has been largely responsible for that. But that knowledge does not enable the most well-intentioned Viceroy to overcome it. Nor do I think that the comment of Dr. Azad, the Moslem president of Congress, was particularly helpful.

"If the British Government were really serious in their effort to settle the issue they should have foreseen communal difficulties and been prepared to meet them."

That is to put the whole onus of an Indian settlement upon the British. In any reasonable meaning of the phrase Lord Wavell has been engaged in doing his utmost "to meet the communal difficulties." The terrible

SAN FRANCISCO OR PEACE?

We have received the following comment on "Observer's" criticisms of the statement which represented a majority view of the Public Action Committee.

THE comment by "Observer" on our statement "Peace or San Francisco?" seems to us to raise two issues. While we should naturally recognise the right of anyone to differ with the point of view expressed on behalf of even a majority of an official PPU Committee in a signed article or letter, the issue raised now is how far an editorial or Commentary should be used for this purpose. We do not want at the moment to do more than express a grave concern at the possibility that Peace News might at any time be heavily weighted in this way against an official or majority view of a Committee or even of National Council.

Our immediate purpose is to correct two misinterpretations in which in our judgment the comment of "Observer" is unfair. He bases his disagreement with our contention that "the rejection of the San Francisco plan is the precondition of radical reconstruction in world affairs" on the fact that he cannot accept "an underlying assumption that pacifists must either accept or reject the San Francisco plan." But another look at the context should make it clear that it is a rejection of the plan by the politically conscious section of British and world opinion that we chiefly meant.

paradox of the Indian situation is that the Indian political leaders—naturally enough—want the unity of India, which is now secured only by the British Raj, to be secured to them when the British Raj is abolished. But in that event the unity of India can only be secured by agreement among the Indians themselves.

Lesson in morals?

THE "non-fraternization" order has been abandoned. The British and American soldiers have shown an invincible inclination to "fraternize" with German women. To save military discipline the order had to be withdrawn. It is an ironical commentary on the theory behind the original order: namely, that Britons and Americans, being morally superior to the Germans, must give them a moral lesson.

"It is a pity," says the Manchester Guardian, "that it is on a question of sex instead of on general principle that defeat has had to be admitted." Something has gone wrong with the Ironsides of 1945. But they have added a new word to the English language.

WORDS AND NEEDS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

100, the figures for 1934-38 were, respectively, 181, 126 and 144. In other words, as production increases, so does productivity, and the problem of unemployment remains unsolved. Nor does the reduction of an import surplus necessarily help matters, as many suppose. In 1929, when the import surplus was £382 millions, the percentage of registered unemployed to total insured population was 10. In 1932, when the import surplus was £286 millions, the percentage of registered unemployed was 22.

Mr. Oliver Lyttelton said recently: "To expect the markets of 1938 to absorb the productivity we have now reached, which has been so greatly accelerated by the war, would be to indulge in a counsel of despair. There is no means of absorbing such a production, if we look to markets of that size."

Yet Mr. Lyttelton thinks that everybody will agree with the expansionist economic theory. That way lies, ultimately, war. He should take a tip from Lend-Lease and give the stuff away to the people who need it, in Europe, in India, and even in the distressed areas.

Approaching the problem of unemployment, the Tories say: "How can we get as few men as possible to do as much work as possible for as small a wage as possible in order to make as big a profit as possible?" The Labour Party says: "Here we have a lot of men. How are we going to find them all work?" Surely the correct approach is rather to estimate the total needs of the community on the basis of a reasonable standard of living and then to set about distributing the necessary jobs fairly amongst the available working population.

"The needs of the community"—does not this suggest the clue to the whole sickness of Europe, quite apart from economics? For the main fault of our society has been that it has subordinated human needs to the gross material appetites of the machine.

As a consequence, people have been starved of material necessities, but they have also been starved, communally, of human relationships. They have been denied an outlet for the expression of natural human friendliness, the necessary antidote to the worship of naked Power, the dark god of our modern paganism.

We have seen this process supremely in the case of Germany, but clearly enough all over Europe. People were not allowed to be friendly—in a class society, a power society, friendliness is presumption. Right, then—if they could not be friendly, they would be unfriendly. They would hate. And they did. And the result of it all? Non-fraternisation, and the process beginning all over again, to the accompaniment of the same old political and economic futilities.

I have heard nothing of these matters during the election. Perhaps the adage is true that the sole art of governors is to be just a little less stupid than the governed. Perhaps the cynics are right who say that Guy Fawkes was the best man that ever entered Parliament.

At any rate, I cannot honestly feel that my little cross on the voting-paper has made much of a contribution towards the solution of world problems.

"Observer" could hardly suppose that we thought pacifists could carry out a radical reconstruction by themselves. But would he not agree that opinion on the San Francisco plan should be clearly formed?

"Observer" also says that we are not unequivocal when we appeal to believers in collective security to join in rejecting San Francisco. What we said was, "we would appeal to collective security supporters to do likewise—recognising that their own arguments for radical collective security demand the rejection" of the 'Frisco scheme. Where is the equivocation here? We thought our meaning was clear.

Our further argument to collective security supporters would be equally candid. "You see that by your own arguments 'Frisco is intolerable. You see now that what you want will not be conceded by world statesmen bent on power-politics. Will you not consider whether your idealism does not now lead you to join us in advocating radical action by the people to disarm their national governments, beginning with unilateral disarmament by Britain?"

STUART MORRIS, Chairman.
ROY WALKER, Secretary.
HENRY HILDITCH.

Luxury meals
unchristian

A protest by Vera Brittain at the extravagance of the arrangements for feeding the members of the Big Three conference at Potsdam was featured prominently by the Birmingham Gazette on Tuesday.

The protest was made at a public meeting held by the Birmingham Council of the PPU on Monday evening.

Vera Brittain condemned the luxury meals in the midst of starvation conditions as "Unchristian" and urged: "It would have been the best possible example if the leaders had announced that they were going without luxuries in view of the state of the world."

Task for Christians

CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION: An essay on peace-building. By Karlin Capper-Johnson. 1s. 6d. Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

This is the kind of book which those who are acquainted with the author might expect from him: honest thought, vigorous expression, and related to present realities. Its main idea may not be new to members of the pacifist movement; nor, I think, would the author claim that in 56 pages he has been able to deal adequately with the Christian Revolution.

But the book contains a number of singularly concise and well-chosen sentences; its outline of the immediate way forward in the political field which Christian pacifists should (in his opinion) support is extremely useful; and, because of its honest realism as well as because of its insistence on our present spiritual plight, it is a valuable book to pass on to Christian people who, while not being pacifists, are deeply perplexed about the world situation.

"This essay is written in the conviction that a leap must be taken, that no rearrangement of power-politics will do."

"This appalling contradiction within right-hearted men and women in all countries (i.e. wanting peace but planning war, doing evil in the hope that good may result) is central to our world crisis."

"At the centre of the world's tragedy today is the resignation of Christians from their divinely appointed task."

"As the extent of crime in any State depends upon the health of the body politic rather than upon the criminal code, so, too, in the world, if the life of the peoples be not strong, creative, righteous and well ordered, then no amount of planned suppression of war will suffice."

Such quotations reveal the author's point of view. He is Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee, and an active worker in the cause of co-operation amongst the various pacifist bodies. P.H.F.

Training C.O.s as teachers

On July 12 the Central Board for C.O.s was informed that two classes of conscientious objectors may now apply for emergency courses for training as teachers: they are C.O.s who are medically unfit and those over the age at which men are being called up for military service, i.e., at present their thirtieth birthday. It is hoped that, before very long, the Ministry of Education may be able to deal with applications so received.

But the other conditions of eligibility must be complied with. For instance, emergency courses are open only to men and women who have either been discharged from the Forces or released from other forms of national service. Conditionally registered C.O.s will not, therefore, usually be able to apply until discharged from their registration conditions, as to which the Central Board is still in discussion with the Ministry of Labour, no decision being expected for some time yet. Some details of the scheme are given in "The C.O. and the Future" and the CBCO Bulletin for January, 1945. Both are obtainable from the Board.

Eighty years
young!

VERA BRITTAINE and Stephen Hobhouse were among those who took part in a gathering in Coleford, Glos., last week, to celebrate Laurence Housman's eightieth birthday.

Laurence Housman himself gave a reading of his play "The Waiting Room," followed, later in the day, by a reading of "Abraham and Isaac" and two plays in the "Victoria Regina" series.

"After reading for over an hour, following an address to the Adult School in the morning and the afternoon play-reading, Mr. Housman's voice was as fresh as when he started speaking," reported the Dean Forest Guardian.

"The most remarkable characteristic of this octogenarian is his youthful appearance and youthful outlook."

Vera Brittain said that, besides being outstanding in almost every branch of literature, Mr. Housman was a progressive reformer of the most humane type. It was, however, as a writer that he would go down to posterity. She referred to his advocacy of the abolition of war and violence in human affairs, and instanced women's suffrage as one cause for which he had worked in his long life which had attained fulfilment.

Laurence Housman himself, in a speech of thanks for a presentation which was made to him, quoted from one of his unpublished poems:

Though I have oft been ill-behaved,
I thank my God I have been saved
From that fine piggy in a poke,
A God who cannot see a joke.

Stephen Hobhouse referred to his association with Laurence Housman and to the latter's work as president of the War Resisters' International. He expressed the hope that Mr. Housman would be spared to give the world another volume of autobiography, "My Unexpected Years," vol. 2, and perhaps even vol. 3.

(See page 3 for details of a PPU gathering to celebrate Laurence Housman's 80th birthday.)

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